The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

Editorial Board
Michael Williams, Editor
George N. Shuster, Managing Editor
Mary Kolars, Assistant Editor
Frederic Thompson, Assistant Editor

John F. McCormick, Business Manager

Editorial Council
Carlton J. H. Hayes
T. Lawrason Riggs
Richard Dana Skinner
James J. Walsh

Published weekly and copyrighted, 1936, in the United States, by the Calvert Publishing Corporation, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, February 9, 1934, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. United States: $5.00; Canada: $5.50; Foreign: $6.00. Single Copies: $.10.

VOLUME XXIV | Friday, July 31, 1936 | NUMBER 14

CONTENTS

The New Shadow of War	333	Seven Days' Survey	344
Week by Week	334	The Screen—James P. Cunningham	347
People, Press and Propaganda—Donald Attwater	337	Communications	347
Further Footnotes—R. A. McGowan	339	Books—George A. Yanitelli, Frederic Thompson, Helen Walker Homan	350
Only a Small Mind—Philip Mahoney	341		

Previous issue of The Commonweal are indexed in the *Reader's Guide* and the *Catholic Periodical Index*

THE NEW SHADOW OF WAR

AS THE presidential campaign swings forward into constantly intensified activities, it becomes more and more difficult for most American citizens to give any save the most superficial attention to what is happening elsewhere in the world. Even such ghastly news as the civil war in Spain excites little interest. It is generally considered to be merely another proof of the congenital instability and violence of benighted Europeans. It confirms us in our determination to have nothing further to do with European or world affairs, except to ignore them. And in the mass-mind of our people there is a vague yet very comfortable sort of belief that simply by thus ignoring the troubles of other peoples we can readily solve our own far less serious troubles merely by electing the "right man" as President; and by putting our favored political party into power. So while the Spaniards bomb or shoot or stab each other by the thousands and while all European nations desperately race each other in piling up their military and naval and aerial armaments, and Japan and Russia draw closer and closer to the brink of war, the mass-mind of the United States continues to dream that verbal "planks" in the platforms of political parties "pledging" American abstention from "interference," or participation, in world affairs will suffice to keep this country safe and sane and sound in its own happy isolation.

No dream could be more false. It is fortunately true that our geographical remoteness from Europe and Asia does save us from that frightful, constant strain of apprehension of war which is the burden of other peoples, huddled closely together amid a welter of national and racial hatreds and jealousies and conflicting interests. Yet our physical isolation is no impregnable wall of defense against war; it is a barrier that can delay but not prevent our being involved if the new great war so obviously brooding over the world should

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

break out. Moreover, such a position on our part can be, and indeed will be, nothing but monstrous national selfishness if it succeeds in persuading us into a confirmed state of moral and spiritual isolation from the rest of humanity. It may be true that the League of Nations, and the World Court, are not the instrumentalities through which this nation can efficiently wield its influence to avert the threatened disaster of a new world war. In that case, then, let other means be devised. Let those Americans—of whom, thank God, there are many millions—who refuse to be drugged by the fatal, poisonous, unthinking optimism of the mass-mind, bestir themselves before it is too late.

Such a plea has been addressed to them by a man who is preeminent among those Americans who refuse to permit their unquestionable patriotism to degenerate into that blind, ferocious and anti-human nationalism which has swept so many nations like a spiritual pestilence, and which in our own country is developing an appalling virulence. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, who has recently returned from Europe, urges that the United States should take the lead in a new movement for a world conference, in order to arrive at some means of dealing with the economic and monetary problems which unless solved must soon produce another acute crisis that will involve all the nations, without exception. In all probability, such a universal crisis would produce war; but even if war should be averted, tragic disasters are inevitable.

Dr. Butler says that representing the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace he conferred while in Europe with many statesmen and leaders of public opinion. He found it to be the general belief that many great nations, now meeting their governmental needs by borrowing money, would exhaust their credit by the end of 1937. This situation would be the climax of the political and economic forces which are now at work. "The economic forces making for disorder and disaster," says Dr. Butler in his statement, "are more powerful than the purely political forces, and yet the economic nationalism which is substantially world-wide at the moment prevents their being dealt with in constructive fashion and only adds to their influence for evil."

It is the gigantic burden of public debt, in Dr. Butler's view, which is the chief material factor of the impending crisis. He believes that the United States, as the world's greatest creditor nation, should take the lead and without delay call an international conference before the power of the various governments to raise credit is ended, thus producing another economic crash far greater than the one from which the world is now suffering. "That conference," he says, "would not be primarily political in character, but would be an endeavor to solve the economic and the monetary problems which are fundamental. Should such a conference succeed, even in part, it would contribute enormously to the solution of the political problems which are now of so threatening a character. Opinion in Europe is practically unanimous that if another war comes every great nation will have to take part in it, whether it wishes to do so or not, because of the effect of war upon the prosperity and life of every civilized people."

It is not Dr. Butler's view, however, that economic and monetary, still less political, factors are the fundamental problems affecting the world's great question, War or Peace, today. "No one dissents from the view," he states, "that there is but one way to keep out of war, and that is by preventing war. To bring this about there must be a moral reformation of the mentality of nations —to use the striking phrase Jonkeer de Graeff, of the Netherlands, used a few days ago in addressing the assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva."

Nevertheless, moral reformations are rarely effected miracuously. The nations are not led by men who like Saul on the road to Damascus have been suddenly transformed from men of violence to men of peace. Indeed, in many great nations the leaders are dedicated to violence, and their peoples submit to their programs. But we must use what tools are available. Because world conferences have hitherto failed, are we to give up all hope that human reason may even yet find, if not the permanent peace of the world, at least a way to escape the disaster now obviously at hand? To do that is to yield to despair—the ultimate collective sin of humanity. We do not believe that Americans will yield to that sin.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

UNLESS all signs fail, these weeks are staging as the event of major importance a widespread popular revulsion from the New Deal as a social panacea. It reminds one a little of the retreat from Wilsonian liberalism. Yet there is one important difference. Mr. Roosevelt has never permitted himself the luxury of too complete identification with New Deal theory. He has said again and again that he regarded the whole thing as, frankly, an experiment; and his most recent addresses have indicated readiness to sponsor a different program of action if that is demanded by circumstances and public opinion. Accordingly it is very unlikely that the President's personal drawing power has been greatly undermined. True enough, polls appear to indicate a steady and on the whole astonishing drift to Landon. But when Mr. Roosevelt actually swings into action as a campaigner it will become perfectly obvious that he is by no manner of means

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in a situation comparable to that which Wilson faced in 1919. In fact, if personal abuse like that vented by Father Coughlin is continued with any gusto, the good old American habit of balancing the verbal ledger will write more votes for the Democrats than a dozen speeches or WPA appropriations could. Meanwhile Mr. Roosevelt has extricated himself neatly from one bad mess. There is now every prospect that if a serious break in the ranks of organized labor occurs it will not leave the administration clinging desperately to the Lewis coat-tails. The kind of politics Mr. Roosevelt has played inevitably produces crises of that sort, which only a master can survive. There is a master in the White House just now.

ASSORTED efforts to create a Lemke-Coughlin-Townsend song that will appeal all around are unusually illustrative of undercurrents now cutting wide swathes through normally peaceful intellectual territory. If any one thing has been characteristic of these conventions, it is dissatisfaction with the complexities of governmental administration coupled with insistence that everything could and ought to be very simple. The Security Bill is a huge mass of undecipherable legislation; Dr. Townsend's plan is something everybody can understand. Federal bond issues to finance in orthodox fashion present heavy federal expenditures lead to a jungle of bookkeepers and experts; the Lemke-Coughlin system of creating money as you go along sounds much more reasonable and is certainly very attractive. And so forth. The fact which curiously enough seems to have escaped notice is that this natural popular demand for simplification has only one possible logical conclusion. Our liberal governments repose upon the exceedingly complex principle that laws must first be enacted and then put into effect. Enacting them requires due regard for all existing precedent; applying them necessitates almost infinite tact, since those opposed may agitate for repeal. But a dictatorial government proceeds to put something into effect and then to pass a law embodying that something. This is simplicity and practicality reduced to terms perhaps alone viable under modern conditions. To be sure, the Lemke-Coughlin-Townsend groups do not want a dictatorship. But we cannot help feeling that they illustrate a state of mind which makes dictatorships possible.

THE ABOVE remarks seem pertinent in another connection. In response to a brief editorial on proportional representation, Father Edward Dowling, S. J., writes us an interesting letter which lack of space compels us to summarize here. He says that the Hare system of proportional representation, advocated in New York, "without distorting dictatorially the voter's wishes [which you implicitly advocate by your attack upon the proposal], . . . will tend toward the production of a few strong parties. Witness Cincinnati and the Irish Free State." And he adds: "With practically all civic-minded groups in New York favoring this opportunity to advance the cause of real democracy, it is a little painful to hear Catholic voices raised on behalf of vicious status quo." Now we trust that it will be taken for granted that we are opposed to dictatorship and to vice in all its forms. It merely happens that some cursory reflections on the history of proportional representation abroad have left us convinced that it is a delusion. If there is sufficient interest in the subject, we shall publish a lengthy article by one of the most competent Catholic students of the problem. For the moment we may add on our own behalf that in a democracy the crucial factor is the enactment and application of laws. All other questions are of subsidiary moment. The gamut all our laws must pass is that of conflicting interests. This group wants a law; that group does not. Who is to prevail? Proportional representation automatically increases the number of groups, and thus eventually places organized minorities in strategical positions where, by shifting their weight now to this side and now to that, they can effectively control government. As soon as this position is reached, there is widespread popular clamor against delays, red tape, parliamentary inefficiency. Using this as a talking point, some one group then gets sufficient support to run things all alone. In short, proportional representation seems to us one of those concessions to its own worst traits with which democracy can triumphantly ruin itself. And we are not sure but what Ireland may be a case in point. Our American political habits badly need reform, but they can be improved another way.

Proportional Representation Again

THE DIALECTICAL materialist hypothesis of history, which Bukharin has perhaps expounded with the greatest clarity, is apparently running on schedule in Spain. Good Jesuit construing of the signs and events has, too, foretold as much and it is very easy to point to causes now with the wisdom of second, or post facto, sight. Lenin, it may be remembered, put his finger on the map of Europe and said, "There will be the next Communist country, after Russia"; his finger was on the Iberian peninsula and considering the time at which Lenin made his prophecy, it was remarkable. There are various surface reasons given for the Spanish revolution which has been in sporadic progress now for years, and may be boiling for some years to come. There are personalities, for the personalist explanation of history, Lerroux, Azaña, the two military Francos, the ex-King and his family, De Rivera,

Spain

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Caballero and Bela Kun (the mythical, and perhaps real, monster). Fundamentally there was in Spain the social counterpart of what seismologists call a "fault," a latent friction between two stratas, with superimposed stratas which will not directly be in friction but by their weight will tend to the fusing of the whole earthquake or volcanic eruption. The peasantry and proletarians of Spain were a uniquely depressed lot, and they were numerically the overwhelming preponderance of the nation. Whether the small *alta sociedad,* romantic and improvident, were more or less irresponsible than their counterparts elsewhere, is arguable; but certainly most of them frequented the cafés and clubs for the pursuit of amusement, more than they sought social justice. This became identified in the popular mind with those two sins crying to heaven for vengeance: the oppression of the poor and the defrauding of laborers of their wages. The fundamental fault will have to be adjusted first in Spain before the storied sunburnt mirth, al fresco dancing, guitar playing and serenading will be restored to the people as their national characteristic. A military cabal, meanwhile, will be only a nightmarish incident.

The Police Exceed

A WISER man than we can claim to be once observed that great emphasis on minor morality usually means scant attention to the laws of major morality. The matter is expressed in more commonplace terms by saying that a sense of moral balance is needed. This is as true in the matter of enforcing the law as in the matter of obeying the private behests of conscience; as any student of social morality knows, who has observed the spirit of general cynicism that is bred by punishing small offenders heavily, and letting the big men go. A magistrate, Anna M. Kross, sitting in a New York court recently gave expression to this principle in a wholesome and stimulating way when she dismissed several people brought before her by the police on charges of violating the city's gambling laws. The card game in a private home had been raided; and two of the participants, understandably excited by the appearance of the police in these unusual circumstances, jumped through the window and fractured, respectively, a leg and an ankle. Magistrate Kross spoke of the plain-clothesmen's action with merited severity when she called it "the most disgraceful thing I've ever heard." It is to be hoped that her further instructions to the squad, to "stop this snooping and track down real criminals," will have some effect. The raid may come under the head of misguided zeal, but it is difficult to understand how this Javert-like devotion to the letter of the law as against its spirit got into a group of New York policemen. Common sense and the police tradition are alike against it.

A Worthy Pilgrimage

AURIESVILLE has welcomed the first public pilgrimage of 1936. The blessings and refreshment accorded by this shrine are so manifest that it is easy to understand why individuals and groups alike should yearn to make the journey. Even as a place to meditate this is holy ground; for where can one find more admirably conjoined the natural and supernatural virtues? These saintly Jesuits were exemplars of faith, hope and charity, but they were also serene, courageous, charming. There is also another kind of breadth in the memories here venerated. The missions were designed for the New World as a whole, in the firm belief that the Indians could be made coheritors of Christian civilization. No "race problem" checked the ardor of these priests, who were only all too generous in their estimate of the savages. The missioners came from France, were aided by the Canadian colony, and received their commission from Rome through the petitions of a Society first established in Spain. And without realizing it, they were destined to ascend the altars of the Catholic Church as exemplars of heroism to a country—the United States—which in their time did not so much as exist. Theirs was the true, the healing universality of the soul. Perhaps it is not merely a coincidence that the shrine of such men should be a little town remote from the main routes of commerce and government. For has not what they essentially stood for grown fearfully distant and alien to many?

Hot Weather Item

THE LATE G. K. Chesterton (who said, in the course of his wonderful years, almost everything worth saying) once remarked that if you will take a long, dusty walk on a hot day, you will know what beer is for. It must be an even more cogent demonstration to take a long ride in a crowded train on a hot day. Hence the soldiers on the troop train speeding toward military encampment on the recent Sunday, which was one of the hottest in recorded history, must have felt a renewed belief in the existence of Santa Claus when their engine hit a beer truck. Of course, being men, and what is more, disciplined men, they did not at once put the beer to its appointed use. Instead they employed it to put out the fire which was consuming the truck: perhaps as severe a test of their training as many of them will ever encounter. Then, alas, as if to prove that virtue is its own reward, the police arrived just as (by their story) the soldiers were rolling some of the surviving kegs toward the train. The police report details the fact that the soldiers were then and there compelled to roll the kegs back again. We are glad to say that not all of them were accounted for.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PEOPLE, PRESS AND PROPAGANDA

By DONALD ATTWATER

WHAT I said about the press in the last issue of THE COMMONWEAL is of equal effect where individual people are concerned, for in giving my views on the press I have merely expanded and adapted what I believe ought to be true of each one of us: I have proceeded from the simple to the organic; the press cannot take a certain line unless the individuals composing and reading it take that line and by so doing produce the new organic activity.

I want to put a few points, loosely and at random, which I have learnt from my own experience. But just let me say this; of the lessons we ordinary Catholics have to learn in dealing with our non-Catholic neighbors one of the most important is this: don't attack the other man, don't attack his religion (or his lack of it). We don't like our faith to be attacked, criticized, held up to ridicule; neither does he. Our business is to explain, not our or my faith, but the faith of the Catholic Church of Christ; to state it, to show its reasonableness, to try and demonstrate its truth. In this business of convincing the unbelievers, as in everything else, Divine grace and the hearer's cooperation with that grace have the last word.

Only the other day I cut the following from a leading article in an English provincial newspaper, the *Western Mail*:

> Instead of attacking each other as heretics, Catholics and Protestants seem to have tacitly agreed that their most effective propaganda is to present their faith to the world and leave the decision with the minds and hearts of those whom they are desirous of winning to their fold.
>
> The spectacle of the two great forces of Christendom expending energy on attacking each other, which could obviously be better employed in combating the powers of darkness and materialism in the world, was not, to say the least, edifying. It caused many to cry, "A plague on both your houses! If you cannot make peace between you, how can you expect the world to regard you as the authentic exemplars of the Prince of Peace?"

That is well said. And later on the writer said something else, namely this:

> The conversion of this country to Roman Catholicism appears to be a remote event. When Mr. Belloc, according to a legend, visited the Vatican many years ago and presented the Pope with a neat diagram showing that the national conversion of England would take place "some time between May and July, 1923," he underestimated the strength of Protestantism, as those do today who think that because it has undergone many changes it is dead or dying.

That jolly little squib about Mr. Belloc is a lesson we can take to heart. "The conversion of England" is a grand motto for English Catholics to cherish in our hearts; but if we shout it in the market place we look silly, we show our ignorance.

To much has been made of the "decay of Protestantism" on a basis of church attendance and the uncertainty of its teaching voice. And it is well for us that things are not, and are unlikely to be, so bad as they look. There is a pernicious idea among some Catholics that the disintegration of non-Catholic Christianity clears the ground for the wholesale acceptance of the integral and plenary Christianity of the Catholic Church. It does not; it makes it infinitely harder. The decay of non-Catholic Christianity means that people are deserting not simply their churches and sects but the Person of Jesus Christ as well; whereas it is the office of the Catholic Church to rally people to Christ, to the whole Christ. Is it better, from any point of view, for non-Catholic people to ignore, even despise, Christ, or to love Him and believe in Him?

Rome, as ever, gives us our example. In Russia evil men are seeking to destroy a non-Catholic church. Does the Holy See speak with glee of the impending death of the schismatic church of that unhappy land? No. The Pope orders that the prayers after low Mass be said for the persecuted Russians—over 99 percent of whom are non-Catholics.

Admittedly Protestantism in Great Britain and the United States is losing many adherents. And are they becoming Catholics? Some of them, a few. But most of them drift into indifference, materialism, agnosticism. Many of these retain affection for the Person of our Lord and a respect for Christian morality in its broad outlines but will have nothing to do with what they call "institutional religion." One of these has recently said:

> The Church of Christ, in spite of the example of her Founder, has become almost hopelessly bourgeois. Christianity in our country stinks of middle-class smugness and snobbery. The younger generation refuses to be content with what is so obvious a sham.

With an alteration of wording to safeguard the indefectibility of the Church as such, the same is now said by many serious Catholics; and we are wasting time and not facing facts if we refuse to admit that we, many of us, are snobbish and smugly self-satisfied. And when we are talking to people, young or old, who are impatient of institutions and authoritarianism, it's not the slightest good talking about the perfection of the Church

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as an organization or pointing out her immovable insistence on the principle of authority. That just puts them further off. No; find out where they agree with the Church, and start from that; authority and the rest will come in time. This is our Lord's own way. "I have yet many things to say to you, but you cannot bear them now," He said to His disciples.

There is another aspect of the same important matter. When Saint Paul asked the believers at Ephesus if they had received the Holy Ghost, they replied, "We have not so much as heard whether there be a Holy Ghost." I often recall those words when I hear or read some truth of our faith being expounded to non-Catholics. We sometimes laboriously explain the divinity of our Lord to people who are uncertain if Christ ever really existed; we talk about our Lady or the beauties of the rosary to those who are not convinced of human immortality; we seek to demonstrate the Pope's infallibility to others who do not believe in the teaching office of bishops. It is waste of time.

Again, we all must be appalled from time to time to find how often the Church is identified with what are called "vested interests" and reactionary social systems. Well, there are "Rerum Novarum" and "Quadragesimo Anno," those pronouncements of the Holy See. But we ought never to denounce the awful errors of Communism without at the same time and in the same breath denouncing the terrible abuses and injustices that flourish under capitalism. We need not denounce capitalism itself, we may believe in it; but we must oppose its errors and abuses.

I am convinced that militant godlessness is a necessary part of Marxian Communist philosophy or ideology or whatever they like to call it. I am equally convinced that the ordinary Communist in this country knows nothing about that. He does not really hate God and religion; what he hates is injustice and oppression. When the illiterate mobs of Spain burn churches and monasteries they are not manifesting their contempt for God and His priests; they are protesting against abuses which they have been misled to believe those sacred buildings stand for. Communists and Socialists are right to denounce injustice and oppression; but we must denounce injustice and oppression more loudly still and act against them more effectively.

In the same way, we should never denounce the practise of artificial birth control without at the same time denouncing both the oppressive conditions of wages and housing of some and the artificially expensive standard of living of others, which press so many people into that practise against their own inclination. We must never appear to minimize the difficulties that beset having even a fairly large family in these days, any more than we must appear to minimize or be indifferent to the miserable disaster of an unhappy marriage, which some seek to remedy by divorce. To minimize these things is to refuse to face realities. Moreover, let us be careful how we say that the Church condemns artificial birth control or divorce. She does, of course; but to put it like that often suggests to people that it's a private fad of Catholics. We must make it clear that artificial birth control would be unlawful even were there no Church to declare that natural law to us.

Again, it is often declared by non-Catholics that the Catholic Church is exclusive. That is awful; that the Catholic Church, the universal Church, the one ark of salvation for all, the Church of Christ Who took flesh and died to save all mankind without a single exception, that she should have the reputation of being exclusive shows a terrible, a tragic misunderstanding. It is our duty to watch our deeds and words with the most diligent care lest we contribute the smallest jot or tittle to that misunderstanding, lest any one of us be a stumbling block to those whose feet have not yet reached that City which is set on a hill.

Lest I appear to have been laying down the law in a fashion unbecoming a layman, let me finish with three quotations from the words of canonized saints, all of them priests.

Saint Vincent de Paul wrote:

> We must never tell Protestants that they cannot find their particular doctrines in the Bible, or at least tell them so very rarely and then in a spirit of humility and gentle affection. Otherwise God will not bless our efforts. We shall only push those poor souls further off; they will suspect that vanity lies behind what we say and will not believe us. A man is not believed because he is clever but because he is well liked and known to be good. The devil is very clever—and we don't believe a word he says, because we don't like him. Nobody will believe us unless we are loving and forbearing with them.

Saint Francis de Sales wrote to Saint Jane Frances de Chantal:

> I have always said that the man who preaches with love preaches adequately against the heretics, even though he does not utter a controversial word against them.

Finally, Saint Peter Canisius, who spent his life combating Protestantism, wrote to his superior, the provost general of the Society of Jesus:

> We do not dispute too much with Protestants about matters of faith, because that tends to confirm them in their errors. Our example will do more to convince them than our words. Nor do we hide from them the obvious abuses that exist among us Catholics.

It can all be summed up in words which are as imperative as they are often quoted:

> In necessary things there must be agreement and unity; in doubtful or indifferent things there must be freedom; in all things there must be charity—giving no offense to any man, that our ministry be not blamed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FURTHER FOOTNOTES

By R. A. McGOWAN

Continuing his parallels between existing social practise in the United States and the teaching of the encyclicals, Father McGowan maintains that "most of the things" considered desirable by the papal letters are in the United States "forbidden to any government, federal or state." A particular instance in point is, he avers, the Guffey Coal Act. Father McGowan decries the individualism which is bearing "us over the cliff to destruction," and does not feel that efforts to modify it are necessarily dangerous.—The Editors.

THIS paper might be cluttered with quotations from decisions of the Supreme Court on the question in hand. Two will suffice.

I. One is from the decision in the New York minimum wage case. The Court said: "The state is without power" to pass "any form of law establishing minimum wages." The reason is that the Constitution protects both employers and employees in the legal liberty "to obtain from each other the best terms they can," as to wages, "by private bargaining."

The decisions in the NRA case and the Guffey coal case emphasized that the federal government could not regulate wages because it is not listed in the enumerated powers of the federal government. That threw a great many people off the track. They did not see that the real point is that under our government as interpreted, and therefore as it is, there is lacking the power anywhere, either federally or in the states, to establish minimum wages in private employment for any reason: either on the basis of the living wage, or on the basis of value received (both of which came before the Court), or on the basis of rates to avoid unemployment, or on any other basis.

It is not a question of division of powers. There is absence of power. We have only part of a government. It is not a matter of a "twilight zone." There is a zone of blackest night. As to wages in private employment there is no governmental authority in the United States that can act. In this respect we have an individualistic, "liberalistic," laissez-faire and pagan country.

In contrast, the encyclical of Pius XI on "Reconstructing the Social Order" says: "The wages paid to the workingman must be sufficient for the support of himself and his family." "Every effort must be made, etc." "If in the present state of society this is not always feasible social justice demands that reforms, etc." If a company cannot pay fair wages, then employer and employees "aided . . . by . . . public authority," i. e., governmental action, should cooperate to care for things.

It praises existing "laws" that "concern . . . wages" as "strongly suggestive of 'Rerum Novarum.'" Among the things upon which government must act when there is need, the encyclical on marriage lists wages so as to protect family life. "Rerum Novarum" says governments must in duty pass special protective legislation in behalf of the poor: "for the richer class have many ways of shielding themselves." The Supreme Court in the New York case, however, speaks of them as "equal" in law.

"Reconstructing the Social Order" even says that public authority, that is, government, may go beyond the demands of the natural and divine law and specify in further detail what owners shall do for the common good. It may even help in deciding what form of private ownership is necessary for realizing the common good. Moreover, "free competition and still more economic domination" (i. e., the new hold of the very rich, the great corporation executives and the banks) "must be brought under the effective control of the public authority," i. e., government, "in matters pertaining to the latter's competence." The matters pertaining to the latter's competence have already been indicated in part.

"Social rulership which in violation of all justice has been seized and usurped by the owners of wealth . . . belongs not to the individual owners but the State," i. e., governmental authority. "Certain forms of property must be reserved to the State since they carry with them an opportunity of domination, etc."

The encyclicals want governments to do certain things. In the United States most of these things are forbidden to any government, federal or state. For example, even the Tennessee Valley Authority passed the Supreme Court (in part) not because of its being a blow at private domination but because the Tennessee dam stands on a navigable stream and war-preparedness was involved.

II. But the Guffey coal decision in one largely overlooked group of three paragraphs, not at all involving federal powers alone, strikes a still more deadly blow at the possibility of getting the United States, in its federal or state governments, to enact Catholic social teaching without a change and a specific kind of change in the Constitution.

The Guffey Act provided that the government accept as its own the free collective bargain upon wages and hours of the employers and unions of the coal industry. The Court said that this meant that a majority of the industry could regulate the minority and that regulating the coal industry is "a governmental function."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Court said: "A statute which attempts to confer such power undertakes an intolerable and unconstitutional interference with personal liberty and private property." "Clearly arbitrary . . . a denial of rights safeguarded by" that constitutional article on federal powers which corresponds to the article on state powers, i. e., due process.

If, therefore, government is to act (although it cannot) it must act on its own and not by confirming the collective agreements of the industry. If it is to act (although it cannot) it must act apart from such collective agreements. It must act (although it cannot act at all) bureaucratically. No question of the size of the majority in the collective agreement is involved; for it is a matter of the "power to regulate the business of another and especially of a competitor."

The encyclicals grant the sovereign power of government to act independently of the agreements of an industry. But specifically as to wages Pope Leo's encyclical advocates the very procedure of the Guffey Act: "In order to supersede undue interference of the State [i. e., government] especially as times, circumstances and localities differ so widely, it is advisable that recourse be had to societies and boards [i. e., collective decisions of the industry] or some other method; the State to be asked for approval and protection."

The paragraphs of the Court show more strongly the legal Individualism of the United States than even the New York decision or the rest of the Guffey decision. Pius XI's "Reconstructing the Social Order" makes a piercing criticism of governments under Individualism which involves this very point. Our translation is mangled but with care the meaning can be seen. "On account of the evils of Individualism," the encyclical reads, ". . . the State [i. e., governmental authority] which now was [i. e., has been] encumbered with all the burdens once borne by associations rendered extinct by it [delete last two words] was [i. e., has been] in consequence submerged and overwhelmed by an infinity of affairs and duties." That is, because of the absence of associations to regulate an industry for the common good, government has been forced to do so to its own great confusion.

And then the encyclical lays down the rule of Leo's encyclical in a still more developed form. "The State should leave to these smaller [i. e., lesser] groups the settlement of business of minor importance . . . directing, watching, stimulating and restraining as circumstances suggest or necessity demands." These groups are the occupations—the industries, the professions. They are to be organized. They are to be democratically organized. They are to be federated. Organized, they constitute the "social order" of the encyclical's title. They are to be autonomous but not independent of government. Government is to help establish this order and besides guiding it, as was stated above, is to "protect and defend it."

To the Supreme Court, interpreting the Constitution in the full spirit of Individualism, if government is to do anything (although it cannot) it alone must do it. To "protect and defend" economic self-government (in Pius XI's words) or to give it "approval and protection" (in Leo XIII's words) is, to the Court, still more heinous than for government itself to invade "liberty." The very reason why Leo's encyclical advocates that organized economic self-government should act and political government give it approval and protection—i. e., because circumstances, times and localities differ so widely—is itself brought forward in the Guffey case as an additional reason why it is wrong to do so.

The issue is joined. No longer is it possible for anyone to say that the Constitution gives the states all the powers needed, etc., and that all we now need do, etc. Direct governmental regulation and its "approval and protection," its "directing, watching, stimulating and restraining" and its "protecting and defending" of the democratic self-government of organized industries and professions are forbidden. A constitutional amendment is the only practicable way to avoid the unconstitutionality of Catholic social teaching. It should be an amendment that permits the federal and state governments to act both directly and through organized industries and professions. This latter phase of the matter is not included in any of the amendments now proposed. If it is not included, a future Supreme Court could perhaps throw out the Guffey procedure and compel bureaucracy and full governmental control.

There will remain the question of which governmental agency, federal or state (or city?) should deal with a particular matter. But that is a question largely of judging the facts aright. As for the argument about bureaucracy, it seems to me that a bureaucracy inside a single state (or a city) can be almost as bad as a remote bureaucracy in Washington. Bureaucracy, anywhere, has to be avoided. The Guffey procedure, developed and magnified into the full self-government of organized industries and professions functioning autonomously with governmental assistance, is the main road to follow. It will avoid federal, state and city bureaucrats.

III. The "midnight zone" of governmental powers is seen to be still larger when another passage of Pope Pius XI's encyclical is read. The people in economic life ought to form "a common body," "single organism," each part "lending mutual help and support." For that to be, certain rules are laid down: wages and salaries that "offer the greatest employment"; wages that bear relationship to each other to the same end; "a reasonable relationship among prices" to the same end.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Incomes are therefore to be deliberately guided and prices deliberately balanced. Then economic life will be a socially just and living body, and each part will help the other. It will not be formed of animated grains of sand, shifting and piling and driven in the winds of greed. But the New York decision sanctifies the principle of "each for himself and let the devil take the common good." Which means, literally, let the devil take people.

Here is no question merely of minimum living wages. Here is a gigantic program. It cannot conceivably be realized without governmental help. The encyclical includes government. According to the encyclical, an autonomous social order of organized industries, services and professions brought into life, in part, by, and working with and under, a political government is to make countries socially just and organically interrelated through a program of balanced incomes and balanced prices. Under the New York decision, or under the Guffey decision, what chance is there of either the federal government or a state government or all the state governments by compact doing the necessary governmental part of this work? If either Washington or Albany or Springfield or Sacramento, or all together, attempted to do so the Supreme Court would say, first: "Competition is the rule of life."

But it would also say: "When competition is not the rule, political government must decide everything." In fact, political government would be forced to attempt it all alone. Often it has been pointed out that Fascism and Communism are sons of Individualism but by different mothers. What we have somehow to do is to cut through Individualism before it is let run its course. Democratic self-government by the industries and professions, brought into existence with governmental help and working boldly and consistently with government, is the encyclical's answer.

The powers, rights and duties of government, as the encyclical views government, are not the powers, duties or rights of government in the United States anywhere, federal or state or both together. The American governmental system is individualistic. It commands Individualism to race us over the cliff to our destruction.

Yet, some are palsied with the fear that if we try to remedy things in the right way, events will race away with us and Fascism or Communism will in fact be the outcome. Perhaps. Almost anything can happen. But doing nothing means that certainly almost anything will happen, including national dissolution and decay. For the wages of national sin is national death.

Some cry out that it is disloyalty to the Constitution to state its defects and propose amendments. Was, then, the very Bill of Rights and every amendment disloyally proposed and disloyally adopted?

ONLY A SMALL MIND

By PHILIP MAHONEY

TO COMPREHEND the present in terms of the systems and cultures that made it, is indeed a difficult task. And yet it is a tempting field because of the rapid changes, because of the very forces that made it. During the past two hundred years, and particularly in the United States, the growth of population and the invention of the machine have changed the aspect and outlook of human life with a speed and to such a degree as to be thought impossible years ago. Patterns of human destiny have been altered in trying to make over the face of the earth and in making over the face of the earth to make over man.

To appreciate the changes of the past two hundred years, it is necessary to review the tendencies of the preceding centuries. Let us go back just 1,700 or 1,800 years and examine for the moment the tendencies of those Christians who were almost among the first to make an impression upon a world largely pagan.

The theological schools of Christian antiquity were for some time exercised over the question of penance for sins committed after baptism. The faith of itself implied a real change, a sincere conversion, and the subject of controversy was not concerning the practise of penance or the power of the Church, but rather the suitableness of using the power indiscriminately toward all classes of sinners. At the beginning of the third century the fervor of the Christian seems to have weakened because of persecution, apostasy, informing, and a great need was felt for Christian unity with regard to the discipline of penance. Rome spoke through Pope Callixtus I (217-222) and his decree provoked the wrath of Tertullian and Hippolytus and their followers. Callixtus finally conquered at Nicea and mitigated the strict discipline which sinners guilty of sins against chastity incurred. Tertullian had admitted that the Church had power to forgive sins ("De Pudicitia," XXI: "Hoc ego magis agnosco et dispono") but not all sins. He considered Callixtus's mitigating the strict discipline as inopportune. He feared laxity and thought the way would be opened to all sorts of crimes thereby. The ques-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion however concerned the advisability of making use of the power of forgiving certain sins against chastity. Tertullian, Hippolytus and their followers sinned by excess; they wanted to be more Catholic than Peter's successor.

Centuries passed. Public penances were practised: pilgrimages, imprisonments, chains, fastings. Difficulties arose from within and without the Church on doctrinal and political questions, both in the East and West. But the ignobility of the children of the Church only served to prove her nobility. And missionaries went to distant lands to bring Christ's doctrine, and confessors and virgins offered their lives for Christ. Then came the great apostasy of the sixteenth century and the abandonment of principal Christian religious beliefs. Justification by faith alone was preached, and the Bible became the rule of faith for apostates. "Where was the peace of God, and where was Christian kindness?" they asked. For they had known strife and suffering and bloodshed and hatred for centuries. Man had become disgusted with depravity within the Church as well as without. Was Christianity a failure? These sinned by defect.

This dogmatic confusion brought with it a confusion of moral and philosophic ideas as well. And there developed from this a morality we call Puritanism. And that too brought with it hatred, and persecution, destruction and scarlet letters. As a reaction against this there came the demand to become acquainted with one's nature and the idea that humans have the right to be just as God made them, that whatever is natural is good. With this there came the avidity to enjoy, hunger for wealth, a craving for power and preferment, and the belief that nice people can't sin. Did this conviction come out of religion? There are only three religions possible: theism, materialism and humanism; the worship of God, of matter and of man. Certainly it did not come out of the worship of God. It must have come out of the worship of matter or of man.

Now truth bewilders the intellect, and reason is repelled by the incomprehensible. Man is dazed and baffled by sensible objects that daily, momentarily fall upon the senses. The idea of God is unfamiliar to us, veiled as He is in mystery to mortal eyes, and proud minds mistake His being as well as His meaning. Atheistic philosophers would have none of Him; they would even ostracize idealism, and banish the arts of poetry and painting for they dreaded their spirituality. They who taught an undefined Christianity would have little of Him, for they assented to indistinct, veiled statements that would agree with almost any religion and oppose themselves to none; indeterminists, they professed the belief that there is no pure, no complete truth. And the man of science would banish everything not seen by the microscope, or tried by the test tube. Are not these symptoms of overwrought and frenzied thinking? The first, proud man wondering at his own greatness, making an idol of himself and bowing down before it; the second, a man who cannot make up his mind though his reason is given him for just that purpose; the third, an intellectual giant, say astronomically, a pygmy theologically.

Yet man has a religious impulse, and this demands a religion. But he would eliminate God, substituting Communistic religion for formal religion. Is not this inevitable and for the present satisfactory? For formal religions have played no vital part generally speaking in life and that explains the ease with which they are being displaced. Communism denies the necessity of formal religion yet embodies at least a kind of religion, for its idol is itself and its appeal is a sort of Christian ideal that follows in its own way the second of God's commands, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It teaches that, though man is fallen he has not failed, though forgotten he is not lost, and that all man's zeal, courage and self-sacrifice should be turned to the well-being of his fellow man. And what drive they have, what fervor! How tireless they are in issuing pamphlets, leaflets, bulletins, in printing their literature both here and abroad and distributing it everywhere and in all languages. What response will it draw? Is it true that many are earnest, good men trying to establish a kingdom of God upon earth, without God? Is its great appeal to the human element in man due to its disregard for God, for God's commands, for its laxity in the matter of marriage laws? What have we to fear from Communism, and what means have we of destroying it? Or will it destroy itself?

Two thousand years ago the Stoic philosopher taught of man's proneness to sin, that life is a warfare and death a deliverance, that virtue consists of justice, courage, temperance and pride, with a resignation to the future, and a scorn for suffering, that consolation and peace were to be had only in death. It failed, and why? Because it came out of pure reason alone. It was incapable of regenerating the world. That power was to come from Christ, from God's grace, from the channels of grace.

Renan once said that all who rage against Christianity find their apology in its restraints, not so much in the restraints against the human intellect as against human pride and passion. For deep in man's heart there is desire and license; and Christianity teaches restraint and control. Christianity is therefore rarely attacked except in the name of pride, liberty and immorality.

Communism by reasons of its own premises is not such an awe-inspiring movement but is rather wrathful, sinister. Man who is a fallen, untamed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

creature, darkly wise and rudely great, would be as God. Satan once said that to Mother Eve: "No, you will not die, you will be as God." That which is to be feared by us is not Communism as such, but ourselves. To combat heresy and schism we must look in the glass, as Saint Paul suggested. Now this is the very key-note struck by Pope Pius XI in his many references to Catholic Action. The first requisite according to His Holiness is personal sanctification. For each individual in Christ's kingdom upon earth has a personal responsibility in life: in civic life, in business life, in social life, in the home. His command to us therefore is this: advance or retreat, for there can be no *via media,* no passivity so far as God's kingdom is concerned. We see only too often the fruits of passivity, of standing too long upon the same spot, of stagnating in the pool of certainty, where no progress can be made. God offers us a sword, His light and grace, and the field of honor.

What centuries in the history of God's Church, except the first two, and they are largely veiled in darkness, can point to a succession of Popes such as Pius IX, Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI? Where in history can we find such champions of the Faith against materialism and humanism, such defenders of our sacramental system, such inspirers of Catholic Action? We enjoy the fruits of their labors, and of the labors of a past generation of priests and people who raised up churches and schools, who established societies, fostered vocations and left us this heritage together with their intrepid faith. But are we not a rather smug, complacent, self-satisfied generation? We are surrounded, it is true, by material objects that thrust themselves upon us, and we are much concerned with being well groomed, well fed, well housed. We love our newspaper and read of Moscow or of Mexico, express our horror and with the gesture characteristic of a Mexican general brush it aside with the thought that these conditions will be taken care of by others, in time—forgetting that he who acts for himself does the work of three.

This indifference to Catholic Action is neither healthy nor hopeful. The questions that should most interest us are these: What shall we give to those who come after us? What can we expect from the fruits of the idleness of our youth? No law excuses us from being our brother's keeper. This—and not only golf scores, the market, bridge possibilities, vacations, social events, sporting events—should have an important place in our minds. For piety, belief, and the worship of God are not merely a show, a habit, but a lively concentration of the mind upon God, the mysteries of faith and man's nature.

Christ's kingdom upon earth was not inaugurated by a legion of angels, not by a sudden stroke of the sword, not by an earthquake destroying provinces; but it came rather like the dew and the rain appearing and gently falling to refresh a parched earth, causing it to germinate and flourish. To work His miracles, signs, wonders, God chose means and instruments to all appearances unsuitable. And of all His miracles, signs, wonders, the most stupendous is His Church, which from humble beginnings, persecution, fire and sword has for more than 1,900 years been extending her dominion over all the earth, while powerful dynasties, the greatest empires, pass away. The cause of so strange a dispensation is found only in the designs of God, inscrutable to human understanding. But however inscrutable to human understanding the ways of God may be, we know that to reach the end for which we are made is our one duty in life. A means to that end is self-conquest. The voice of Christ's Church is forever reminding us of this: "Deny yourself." For there is only one barrier between oneself and God and that is self-love. "Follow Me" is the command of Our Lord. Follow Him, and have grace and peace and happiness. The rebellion of man against God was punished by a rebellion of man's flesh against the spirit.

The progress of civilization has undoubtedly contributed to subdue the fiercer passions of man and to give birth to dreams of material well-being. Yet it seems to have been less favorable to the virtue of chastity, whose most dangerous enemy is a softness of the mind. The niceties of life corrupt while they polish the intercourse of sexes, and the appetite of love becomes most dangerous when it is disguised by sentimental passion. The elegance of dress and of manners gives a luster to beauty to inflame the passions through the imagination. Luxury, entertainment, dancing, the theater, the movie, the automobile present at once temptation and opportunity to human frailty. With these, God's commands are liable to become irksome, and man becomes accustomed to vice quickly.

Man has a great genius for material achievement, for tangible results and is tempted to devote his God-given talents to the purpose of making bread out of stones in his dreaming of conquering worlds and of mastering natural forces, to have better homes, food, transportation. The practical occupies his mind largely and yet in every ear is dinned the words of Christ: "Not in bread alone does man live but in every word that proceeds from the mouth of God." But the ear attuned to the mad whirr of the wheels of progress fails to catch the voice of God.

Man makes up his mind quickly, if he has only a small mind to make up. But to look into the glass to see what manner of man he is? "Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo": The leech is not ready to quit the skin until it is filled—with gore.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—Various reports emanating from Spain told of the continued burning of churches there as one of the aspects of the civil war. Conflicting reasons were given for the incendiarism of mobs and of individual pyromaniacs, who are able to carry out their destruction practically unchecked at such times of extreme disturbance. * * * At the funeral Mass for the Most Reverend William Turner, Bishop of Buffalo, many of the hierarchy, several hundred of the clergy and religious, and more than 10,000 parishioners were in attendance. * * * The Jesuit Philippine Bureau of New York City has published an open letter refuting charges in an article in *Collier's* magazine that the Catholic Church in the Philippine Islands is opposed to democracy and that President Manuel Quezon is "presumably still a Mason." President Quezon, says the letter, formally retracted Masonry in 1930 before Archbishop O'Doherty of Manila and two witnesses, since then has devoutly practised his religion and is accustomed to receive Holy Communion on the First Friday of every month. * * * Voicing disapproval of some of Father Coughlin's expressions about President Roosevelt, Bishop Gallagher of Detroit, Father Coughlin's responsible religious superior, added, "he is entitled to his own opinion" and "there is nothing in Church doctrine to prevent a priest from taking part in public affairs." * * * The French Corporation of Christian Workers sent to the Chamber of Deputies a delegation which demanded syndical liberty for Christian syndicalism. Deputies belonging to various political parties then constituted themselves a group for the defense of this freedom and will take the demand to the President of the Council and the Ministry of Labor. * * * The newly formed Pacific Coast Conference of the Catholic Youth Organization elected as its first president the Right Reverend Monsignor Francis P. McElroy, director of the CYO in the Archdiocese of San Francisco. * * * By order of Cardinal Hayes, a collection was taken in all the churches of the Archdiocese of New York for the establishment of the seminary for the education of a clergy for Mexico, which, in response to appeals from Mexican bishops, is being opened in New Mexico.

The Nation.—The Crop Reporting Board of the Department of Agriculture judges the drought about as severe as in 1934 and "much more serious" than any other since the country was settled. The grasshoppers which were plaguing Montana and the Dakotas have been killed by the heat or have starved to death. * * * Republican National Committee Chairman Hamilton declared in a public address that Democratic political endorsement has been necessary in getting certain CCC jobs, supposedly many dole and emergency jobs. Officials maintained in rebuttal that none of the enrolled personnel nor any technical or educational administrative employee is in any way selected through politics. However, it was admitted that about 20 to 25 percent of the approximately 18,000 non-technical foremen have been chosen, after examination, from congressmen's lists. The total CCC enrollment is about 350,000. * * * The twelve unions of the Committee for Industrial Organization have definitely decided to defy the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and refuse to stand trial on the charge of disrupting American labor ranks. Experts predict there will soon be one federation of craft unions and one of industrial unions. * * * Americans have evidenced their interest in Sweden's "middle way out," which features cooperatives, by leaving in unprecedented numbers for summer trips in that country. In June and early July, 317 left New York for Sweden on special study tours, and the American Express reports that over 2,000 others sailed for private trips. * * * The chain store bill just passed by Congress is already having repercussions in the food industry. The clause regulating advertising allowances given distributors by manufacturers has caused General Foods and Standard Brands to stop all such allowances. Several distributors have curtailed their newspaper advertising, the A. and P. eliminating it altogether in the eastern area. Distributors are expected to push their own private brands.

The Wide World.—On July 18, the Associated Press reported from Madrid that the government had dispatched troops and ships to quell a military uprising in Spanish Morocco. A short time later it was learned that the Cabinet Quiroga had given way to a Cabinet Barrios, for no apparent reason since both were Leftist. The next day it became apparent that the scope of the uprising was much larger than had been indicated. A third time the Cabinet was altered. General Francisco Franco, allegedly the rebel leader, had completely subjugated the colonies and had gained a foothold on the mainland. Amidst conflicting reports, as yet impossible to evaluate, it became known that the tide of refugees was pouring into Gibraltar and even France. The government quelled an uprising in Madrid, using airplanes and armed Leftist militia; but dispatches indicated that the rebels, having established a firm base in southern Spain, were marching toward the capital city. Considerable regions in the north, including Saragossa and Valladolid, had been seized, but Barcelona was holding out. Apparently the uprising was not monarchist in origin, though said to have been instigated by the wanton assassination of Jose Calco Sotelo last week. The goal appeared to be the erection of a fascistic republic. At the close of the sixth day of fighting, newspapermen believed that armies hostile to the government were gaining the upper hand and the victory would soon be theirs. * * * An attack on the life of King Edward VIII was thwarted by bystanders lined along the road leading to Buckingham Palace. It was, at any rate, construed as an attack by the police and the public. But George Andrew McMahon, the obviously unbalanced villain in the case, insisted that he had not meant to kill the King but had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merely thrown his revolver at him. * * * Renewed attention was focused on Danzig as the Nazi Senate passed laws directly antithetical to the League Constitution under which the city is governed. It became apparent—to all excepting the majority of newspapers—that Herr Greiser's objective is not *Anschluss* to Germany but suppression of all minorities. If the League does nothing, Catholic, labor, Jewish and other groups will become the victims of terrorization in the true sense of the word. Recently the strength of the minorities has greatly increased. Obviously the maneuver will help the Nazis a good deal, since the effective brute force is in their hands. * * * Nationalism was patently welding China into a unit as the Nanking government put down, without firing a shot, the most serious threat to its authority to have been made since 1927. General Chen left the province of Kwantung following a conference of leaders. Opposition troops were disbanding or retiring to distant strongholds. * * * No further light was shed on the Austro-German agreement. No text being available, it was freely asserted that the accord was not a treaty but only a private statement of diplomatic policy by the heads of the German, Austrian and Italian governments. The legitimists endorsed amity "between Germans," but continued to be extremely critical of Chancellor Schuschnigg's action.

* * * *

Third Parties.—The convention of the Old Age Revolving Pension organization of Dr. Townsend exposed cleavages in the movement apparently too deep for mending. The Townsendites changed the name of their program to the Townsend Recovery Plan, but they did not form a party and did not officially join the Lemke-Coughlin Union party. Father Coughlin, Representative Lemke and the Reverend Gerald K. Smith all tried to stampede the convention into the third party, but a number of the Citizens Maximi and especially Gomer Smith of Oklahoma held the Townsendites back. Lemke evidently did pick up much support: Dr. Townsend will campaign for him, and the Reverend Smith will campaign for him and will, he says, form a youth division of 100,000 "poll watchers" as storm troopers for the Union party. * * * Labor's Non-Partizan League made its first move to form a labor party on July 16. On that day a state-wide party of the trade unionists was definitely launched in New York. The principles of the party are somewhat more emphasized New Deal principles and tend to constitutional social democracy. Roosevelt is the candidate of the new party for President, and Lehman for Governor of New York. The party will have its own list of candidates for Congress and for New York state and city offices. Representatives of 400,000 of the 1,000,000 trade unionists in New York started the party off. They expect soon to have 250,000 dues-paying members. They have appealed to labor unionists, independents, liberals of all kinds, Socialists and New York City fusionists. They hope that the Commonwealth Federation headed by Representative Amlie of Wisconsin, and the People's party, made up of the Right-wing Socialists who have seceded from the party since the Left-wing have secured their control over it, will affiliate with it. A Communist move toward them was completely discouraged, and the Socialists, under Norman Thomas, are already on record as opposed to any such party which supports Roosevelt and a New Deal type of politics. Sidney Hillman, secretary of the Non-Partizan League, said that organization will muster 5,000,000 solid Roosevelt votes in the fall, and that it will be extremely important in such states as Pennsylvania, New York and Illinois. The new party may gain an important position in New York City by throwing its weight in the Fusion-Tammany struggle.

Catholic Hospital Survey.—Over 350 Sisters representing approximately 200 hospitals from thirty-five states and a number of priests with hospital executive jobs met last month for the Third Annual Conference on Hospital Administration of the Catholic Hospital Association. The most important business was in connection with the Health-Facilities Survey now being conducted by the United States Public Health Service as part of the general Census of Business ordered by Congress. The Public Health Service has turned over the job of gathering the information on Catholic institutions to the Catholic Hospital Association. The chairman of the conference said: "I shall not enter here into the question of whether or not the government has a right to ask all these questions. I should like rather to urge all of you to take the attitude that not only a rare but also a unique opportunity is here given to you of getting into the public records a statement concerning every individual Catholic Sisterhood or Brotherhood, an opportunity which, therefore, cannot be lightly overlooked, and which must be capitalized to the fullest possible extent." Examining schools, the North Central Association discovered that "there is a pronounced correlation between the excellence of a school as determined by educational criteria and the rank of the school as determined by expenditure per student. There is also found a pronounced correlation between the excellence of a school as determined by educational criteria and its income per student." The same correlations are expected to exist in the hospital field. But in Catholic hospitals, account must be taken of donated services in evaluating income, costs, etc., and the number of Brothers and Sisters vowed to poverty and engaged for life in hospital work in evaluating endowment. Tentative schedules were drawn up for positions in large, medium and small-sized hospitals. Catholic hospitals as an average are about 40 percent larger than all other private hospitals.

Obituaries.—Another of New York's "grand old men" passed to his reward when Henry Ridder, owner and publisher of the *Catholic News,* died on July 18. Born in New York in 1863, Mr. Ridder was associated with his brother, the late Herman Ridder, in establishing the *Katholischer Volksblatt* which began to appear in 1880. Six years later, the two founded the *Catholic News,* which is today the official weekly of the Archdiocese of New York. Though a quiet, self-effacing gentleman of the old school, he was identified with virtually every metropolitan organization which in any way had a bearing on the Cath-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

olic press. Mr. Ridder was associated with the Catholic Club almost from the beginning, and for many years served as treasurer of the United States Catholic Historical Society. * * * Iowa mourned the death of U. S. Senator Louis Murphy, who was the victim of a tragic automobile accident in Wisconsin, on July 16. Born in 1875 and given a high-school education in Dubuque, Mr. Murphy succeeded his father as editor of the *Telegraph-Herald*. He became an expert on taxation problems, politics attracting his attention during 1932, when strife in Iowa was at its height. He campaigned as a wet Democrat and had the pleasure of defeating Henry Field, oratorical seed salesman, who had beaten former Senator Smith Brookhart for the Republican nomination. In Washington he devoted especial attention to farm problems, but continued to be interested in control of the liquor traffic. Archbishop Beckman said, during the course of a funeral eulogy: "Not so much as a shadow of suspicion ever darkened his private or public life. He was a public servant singularly able and faithful, uncorrupt and incorruptible."

Non-Catholic Religious Activities.—The uncertainty as to whether there would be the census of religious bodies this year, customary every ten years since 1906, was dispelled by the announcement of Secretary of Commerce Roper that the President had allocated the necessary funds to the Census Bureau. * * * At the conclusion of the annual convention of the Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, resolutions were adopted instructing the social justice and education committees to prepare a syllabus on social justice for adult study groups and an anthology of Jewish social teaching for juveniles, and recommending that a seminar on social problems be established for the assembly. * * * Films for education in human relations will be shown at the Institute of Human Relations which is meeting at Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin, under the auspices of the Chicago Round Table of Jews and Christians. This is said to be a unique experiment in such use of the motion picture and has the aid of the Progressive Education Movement and the Adult Education Movement. * * * A new offensive against the Protestant Churches throughout Bavaria by the Nazi Bavarian Ministry of the Interior is meeting with resistance. The churches were forbidden the use of their parish houses for any sort of youth gatherings. This interfered with regular Bible study groups. Whereupon the Evangelical Bishop, Dr. Meiser, urged Bavarian pastors by letter "to preach the word of God at all times and in all places" as they vowed at their ordinations. "Therefore," the letter adds, "we must continue the Bible hours, the free periods, the youth meetings, and our men's work and women's work as formerly." The churches are said to be generally disobeying the government order.

A Music Master.—July 31 marks the fiftieth anniversary of Franz Liszt's death, and there is every reason why it ought to be commemorated. Liszt is popularly remembered as the man who furnished more anecdotes and more rhapsodies than any other musician. There must be few who do not know that his long nose once helped him over a difficult passage in a piano score, and that his daughter was the famed Cosima Wagner. It was for some time customary to deprecate his "romantic" music as the product of a gifted virtuoso. But recent conductors have realized the appeal of its melodiousness, which is the product—and not just a by-product—of his technical ability. The "symphonic poem" will probably never again be the same thing it was to Liszt; but as a form it has attracted the interest of so many composers that no one will be likely to read it out of the universal repertory. Less well realized is Liszt's interest in Catholicism and in the revival of liturgical art. He lived through the ferment of the Romantic Age, but his later life was genuinely and beautifully spiritual. Minor orders conferred an ecclesiastical dignity upon him, and there was in the background his renunciation of marriage with the Countess Wittgenstein. Never was a man more generous than Liszt; and this exuberant altruism manifested itself particularly in his readiness to foster everything done to improve the status of religious music. Liturgical laws were poorly understood in his time, so that his work—like that of the greater Beethoven—is seldom adapted to church use. But it is deeply spiritual none the less, even though the impulse which gave it birth may be too individualistic for the modern taste. Many believe that Liszt is Hungary's greatest genius. He was born in Raiding; and though Weimar was the scene of his greatest triumphs, he remained devoted to Budapest.

* * * *

Mexican Catholic Action.—The third national convention of Mexican Catholic Action was held quietly in Mexico City recently, and in an interview given to the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service, which was practically the only report emanating from the convention, Don Luis Bustos, president of the Central Union of Mexican Catholic Action, stated that the organization had made definite progress in the last two years, despite the fact that the persecution of religion during these two years has been the most intense since 1929. An Institution of Catholic Action is established in 28 of the country's 32 dioceses, the various branches number 1,800 and the total membership is about 120,000. The principal activities are religious education, defense of the school, training of the laboring classes, aid in case of reduction or cessation of public worship, defense of the family and of the moral standards of the home, and cooperation with morality campaigns such as that of the Mexican Legion of Decency. Courses in religious instruction and Catholic civic and social principles, for the young and adults, are maintained through parish unions and committees. A weekly leaflet of religious education is published and it was resolved to use posters, handbills and similar means to combat the irreligion taught in the socialistic, government-controlled schools. The closing address of the convention was delivered by the Most Reverend Maximino Ruiz y Flores and the Holy Father sent his benediction to the assembly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Screen

The Devil Doll

THE MIGHTY interesting results accruing from Tod Browning's latest directorial effort bring conclusive evidence of the appropriateness of the title, "Master of the Macabre," which has variously been fastened on him. Mr. Browning, serving this time in the dual capacity of director and author, has fabricated from Abraham Merritt's novel, "Burn, Witch, Burn!"—from which the idea for the play came originally—a thoroughly dramatic mystery horror that is strikingly out of the ordinary. It embraces the machinations of a most bizarre secret process for shrinking humans to doll size, and for dwarfing animals proportionately. The plot turns quickly to the weird and fantastic as it is applied, in vengeance, to the enemies of those in whose hands the secret is held. The ingenious application, however, does not become gruesome, but, rather, horrifying. And what better place for such eeriness than the dark alleys of Paris?

There is considerable room for trick photography, in the miniature and otherwise proportioned settings, as the victims, appearing doll-like in size, climb over huge furniture. Tiny dogs gambol on the vast expanse of a table top, and a little pony uses a desk as a race track. Here the production accomplishment is superb, both in photography and stagecraft.

Lionel Barrymore, as a banker falsely imprisoned for seventeen years, escapes from Devil's Island with Henry B. Walthall, a mad scientist who developed the dwarfing secret. The scientist dies before fully solving that part of the process which would preserve the brain in the miniature subjects. They still retain life, and although the mentality is gone, they can be controlled hypnotically, even made to obey reasonably.

Barrymore, now the possessor of the secret formula, disguises as an old woman, opens a toy shop in Paris, captures one of the old partners who had double-crossed him and sends him out to cause destruction to the other offenders. They did not suspect that death came from the little, hypnotized doll.

M'liss

RKO PICTURES evidently concluded at the start that the million-copy circulation of Bret Harte's "M'liss" since 1868, automatically assured strong screen material. Evidence of the fallacy is at hand.

The very transformation of Bret Harte's tale with such absolute faithful duplication, without any independent imagination, precluded the possibility of attaining anything even approaching first-rate drama. There is nothing to elevate the theme from the drabness of simple sentimentality about a poor and primitive little orphan girl who struggles ever so valiantly in the rough frontier mining town in the West. Someone, also, has mistakenly convinced the producers that her performance will further their ambition to make Anne (M'liss) Shirley the "America's Sweetheart" successor to Mary Pickford.

JAMES P. CUNNINGHAM.

Communications

LABOR AND LAW

Washington, D. C.

TO the Editor: In THE COMMONWEAL of July 3, Mr. Lucey purports to review rather fully the scope of Supreme Court decisions respecting labor, and mentions the Wagner Labor Act (National Labor Relations Act) in connection with a decision of the Supreme Court in 1908 in which the Court held unconstitutional an act of Congress which made it a misdemeanor for an interstate railroad to discriminate against a railroad worker who joined a labor union on the ground, as stated by Mr. Lucey, that Congress was without power to legislate in this matter because it was not a regulation affecting interstate commerce.

Mr. Lucey then refers to the Adamson Law of 1916 and then skips to the Railroad Retirement Act of 1935. He omits all reference to the most important decision of the Supreme Court bearing upon the validity of the National Labor Relations Act; namely, the unanimous decision of the Court in the case of Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company vs. Brotherhood, 281 U. S. 548. In this case the Supreme Court sustained the validity of the Railway Labor Act of 1926 prohibiting interference or coercion by the railroads of their employees in the latter's self-organization and freedom in choice of representatives for purposes of negotiations (collective bargaining) with the railroads. The railroad had discharged leading representatives of the union and had engaged in other activities tending to destroy the freedom of the employees in self-organization and choice of representatives. The Supreme Court affirmed the decree of the lower court which held that these actions by the railroad actually constituted interference, influence or coercion of employees prohibited by the act, and that the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which, among other things, prohibited such interference, influence or coercion, was a valid regulation of commerce.

The Supreme Court also said: "The legality of collective action on the part of employees in order to safeguard their proper interests is not to be disputed. It has long been recognized that employees are entitled to organize for the purpose of securing the redress of grievances and to promote agreements with employers relating to rates of pay and conditions of work. (American Steel Foundries v. Tri-City Central Trades Council, 257 U. S. 184, 209.) Congress was not required to ignore this right of the employees, but could safeguard it and seek to make their appropriate collective action an instrument of peace rather than of strife. Such collective action would be a mockery if representation were made futile by interferences with freedom of choice. Thus the prohibition by Congress of interference with the selection of representatives for the purpose of negotiation and conference between employers and employees, instead of being an invasion of the constitutional right of either, was based on the recognition of the rights of both (281 U. S. 548, 570)."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The National Labor Relations Act is based on these principles and the extension of them to the field of interstate commerce generally.

CHARLES FAHY, *General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board.*

G. K. CHESTERTON

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Obituary notices of the late Gilbert Chesterton in the secular press were on the whole, perhaps, a little less superficial than one might have expected. Nevertheless, all (that I saw) played with the word "paradox" in the usual manner. Not one of the writers seemed even to suspect the true significance of the Chestertonian paradox and the source of that significance. That they failed to do so is a striking sign of the time in which we live, and a grim condemnation of the modern mind.

Why did Chesterton constantly stand things on their head and turn them inside out in his so-called paradoxy? I think the answer is plain. Of all men of his time he had the profoundest insight into the metaphysical apostasy of the Victorian age and the utter confusion of its thinking upon everything consequent upon that apostasy. Of all men he had the clearest intuition of that tremendous central fact of all facts—Being—upon which the whole majestic structure of our philosophy is built, denial of which is at the root of all or almost all so-called "philosophies" of modern days. (Maritain's "Sept leçons sur l'Etre" on this point is of great interest and importance.)

This is why he had to stand things on their head and turn them inside out (and why he could do it) to get at truth. And the irony of the whole business is that the age held Bernard Shaw as a seer and Chesterton as a word-juggler! What a commentary upon its mentality—and its metaphysics!

THOMAS F. WOODLOCK.

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: As episodes and *bon mots* of Gilbert K. Chesterton, which have heretofore not been publicly known, will now accumulate to better portray the more intimate character of that master of paradox, I would like to record an interesting experience with him. This story is true.

I had the never-to-be-forgotten experience of having Mr. Chesterton as my pew guest at the Easter Mass on his last trip to New York. He had warned me that his private devotions had become "vested with the public interest," which he said was the legal terminology used to give sanction to butting into other people's private business under the color of right and that therefore he invoked my assistance in the name of individual liberty to secure him exemption, if possible, from this legal doctrine. Everything worked out to his expectation, until the conclusion of the services when he was discovered and literally mobbed by admirers and the curious. Everyone wanted his autograph on every available scrap of paper, church notice, leaflet, etc. All discoverable paper being exhausted, one old lady presented her prayer-book to be autographed on its fly-leaf. He had graciously met all demands but a quizzical look came over his face when he was handed the prayer-book; and he fled from the church. When we were safely lodged in a taxi, he turned to me and said: "That is the first time that my authority has been really recognized. I have at last been asked to put my imprimatur on a Roman Missal. I am forever saved from heresy; hereafter my every word will be per se orthodoxy."

R. E. DESVERNINE.

A READING FROM RODRIGUEZ

Kokomo, Ind.

TO the Editor: My! My! How could Father "Peter Whiffin" so reverse the actors in the little drama enacted by Saint Benedict and his sister Saint Scholastica? It was not Saint Benedict that asked for the "great rainstorm" so that sister Scholastica could not leave him, but it was Scholastica that prayed God to send a great storm so that brother Ben could not leave her. And the Brothers who were with Saint Benedict had to remain all night, too.

Come, "Peter," how many times have you read the second nocturn for the feast of Saint Scholastica, *attente ac devote?*

F. Jos. M.

Milwaukee, Wis.

TO the Editor: We have been tremendously entertained by Father Whiffin's provocative and interesting article appearing in the July 3 issue of THE COMMONWEAL, regarding one Alphonsus Rodriguez, author incomparable of "Practise of Perfection and the Christian Virtues."

However, there are a few loose threads in the fabric of the story which worried us. It may be quite accidental that the emphasis seems to have been placed upon smug and priggish sanctity in women saints. Be that as it may, we forbear to comment. But, when it comes to an inaccuracy in a story which has its comforting side—for women! —may we be forgiven if we call the attention of the author to it? We refer to the anecdote of the nocturnal tête-à-tête between Saint Benedict and Saint Scholastica. If the little episode appeared only in "Rodrigazoo," the slip might be attributed to the sinus symptoms following Father Bede's "Copenhagen," or perhaps to unconscious imitation of Brother Xavier's somnolent tendencies.

But, as the facts are, may one of the nuns who chants "non dicitur Pater Noster" with such unction call Father Whiffin's attention to the Lesson of the second nocturn of the feast of Saint Scholastica, February 10?

Half way down the narrative, we read:

"Quadam vero die venit ex more, atque ad eam cum discipulis venerabilis ejus descendit frater, qui totum diem in Dei laudibus, sacrisque colloquiis ducentes, incumbentibus jam noctis tenebris, simul acceperunt cibum. Cumque adhuc ad mensam sederent, et inter sacra colloquia tardior se hora protraherat, eadem sanctimonialis femina soror ejus eum rogavit, dicens: Quaeso te, ut ista nocte me non deseras, ut usque mane de coelistis vitae gaudiis loquamur. Cui ille respondit: Quid est quod loqueris, soror? manere

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

extra cellam nullatenus possum. [Oh, Saint Benedict! Oh, Father Whiffin!!] Tanta vero erat coeli serenitas, ut nulla in aere nubes appareret. Sanctimonialis autem femina, cum verba fratris negantis audivisset, insertas digitis manus super mensam posuit, et caput in manibus omnipotentem Dominum rogatura declinavit. Cumque levaret de mensa caput, tanta coruscationis, et tonitrui virtus, tantaque inundatio pluviae erupit, ut neque venerabilis Benedictus, neque fratres, qui cum eo aderant, extra loci limen, quo consederant, pedem movere potuerint."

Surely the honor of the sex needs the picture of Saint Scholastica's human sanctity to counterbalance the holy philanthropy of the heroine of the essay.

After all, Scholastica very obviously had God on her side, and even Rodriguez doesn't venture to make any statements about the self-conscious martyr to charity and mortification.

It is perhaps a one-track mind which quibbles over such trifles, but, as the Response following the Lesson succinctly puts it, I write, Father Whiffin, "Propter veritatem!"

SISTER MARY HESTER, S.S.N.D.

A.M.D.G.

Philadelphia, Pa.

TO the Editor: I would beg to make a request by way of an announcement in the correspondence columns of THE COMMONWEAL. As you know, the July general intention of the League of the Sacred Heart is "For Prisoners." We have, with centers in Philadelphia and Scranton, a St. Dismas League for the Reclaiming of Captives. The purpose of this organization is to collect and distribute amongst prisoners and hospital patients good literature and pious articles. By good literature we mean Catholic publications, books and magazines and other publications that do not offend faith or morals either in text or illustration. Pious articles embrace rosaries, prayer-books, pictures and statues and anything that may help to produce devotion and prayer. Here may be included such objects of art as are cultural and educational. We retain the right to decide for ourselves whether or not an object is suitable for distribution amongst the sick and imprisoned.

Anyone wishing to dispose of such stores of objects may send them to Leo J. Washila, Director, 3929 Locust Street, Philadelphia, or send a card requesting us to call for same. Such collecting is possible on our part in any of the Atlantic seaboard cities as far west as Pittsburgh. In time we wish to open a reading-room where ex-prisoners and poor travelers may come and spend an hour in quiet recollection and receive such aid and advice as is fitting and possible.

May I also suggest that St. Dismas League centers be independently established in other cities? No one can deny the influence for good in right and proper reading. The case of Saint Ignatius Loyola in this matter always deserves repeating! There is no better time for the best results, for mind and character, from good reading than the period of recuperation from illness, and the opportunity of isolation from the world's traffic and commerce and temporal cares.

LEO J. WASHILA.

B. ALTMAN & CO.

FIFTH AVENUE 34TH STREET

midsummer sales of homefurnishings now in full swing

24.95

studio divan,

single or twin, at this one low price.

Either divan with innerspring construction, either with 3 back cushions, either in a selection of plaids, mixtures or solid colors, with contrasting welts. **bedding—seventh floor**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Latest Worth-while Books Available. New and Old Books for Sale. Books Useful and Interesting to Catholics, a Specialty

Calvert Renting Library

READING ROOM AND BOOK SHOP

Open Monday Through Friday 11 A.M. to 9 P.M.
Saturday 11 A.M. to 6 P.M.

SARA B. O'NEILL, Director

TELEPHONE HARRISON 7039

ROOM 210, 31 E. CONGRESS ST.
CHICAGO, ILL.

RENTAL 3 CENTS PER DAY—DEPOSIT $1.00

SPIRIT

A Bi-monthly Magazine of Verse

Published by

The Catholic Poetry Society of America

386 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

"This is wholesome verse, and more than wholesome verse; it is stimulating; it is graceful; it is charming. We cannot too highly endorse the publication."—Dayton (O.) Journal.

"It (SPIRIT) is adventure finely and auspiciously begun, and there is every reason to hope it will prosper."
—The Commonweal

Subscriptions $2.00 **Single issues $.35**

"I NEED A REAL REST!"

How many people say this at this time of the year, and then go to some spot where it is noisy and crowded and less restful than the place they left. In thinking of your rest this summer remember Vista Maria, which specializes in healthful, happy, pleasant, cool, and tranquil rest.

To rest the weary is a charity comparable to healing the ill. Frequent, personally conducted tours leave the headquarters at 10 West 17th Street, at about half past nine in the morning, when parties of six are taken by Cadillac car to Vista Maria. There the guests are given lunch and taken on a tour of the premises and see the beautiful surroundings and lovely view and the extraordinary charm of this "realization of an artist's dream." Then they can return to New York by automobile in time for dinner. Each pays $5.00 towards the expenses of the trip. Those who are interested in one of these trips are invited to write to The Daughters of Mary, Health of the Sick at 8 West 17th Street and request reservation. Tours may also be arranged from Philadelphia, and other cities in the neighborhood of Vista Maria, and the automobile will be sent to the address most convenient to all.

Books

A Sinister Baron

Marie Antoinette's Henchman, by Meade Minnigerode New York: Farrar and Rinehart. $3.50.

IF THE reader likes his history written in a vivid, popular and, at times, colloquial style, Mr. Minnigerode's latest treatment of the French Revolution will prove satisfactory. This is the biography of Jean Pierre Baron de Batz, financier, conspirator and royalist. It attempts to establish the contention that Jean de Batz was responsible for Robespierre's infamous law of *Prairial* and the consequent terror which engulfed Robespierre himself and broke the back of the Revolution. In the crowded events of those historic days the influence of De Batz is portrayed as something felt rather than seen. For he relied on the extraordinary loyalty of his friends he duped the unsuspecting, and with the skill of a melodramatic conspirator, he so maneuvered his enemies that they served his own purpose. That purpose was not so much the rescuing of Louis XVI or Marie Antoinette, both of which attempts failed, as it was to restore the abstract monarchical principle. In this he was ultimately successful, but his friends and even those who were suspected of knowing him, paid for it with their heads.

So many of the events and characters of the Revolution seem like figments of the imagination that one cannot be surprised at the career of this ambitious Gascon nobleman. Court connections helped him establish a dubious title to nobility extending to the dukes of Gascogne in 1160. His financial wizardry made him a great fortune which he employed to effect the rescue of the King and Queen and accomplish the destruction of the Revolution. His plan for this last undertaking was to overcome terror by a worse terror, to make the Revolution destroy itself by its own delirious extravagances. Through friendship and bribery, he helped foment distrust among the deputies to the National Convention, stirred up street mobs, compromised leaders, until his very name became a symbol of every counter-revolutionary movement. The author claims it was in the hope of snaring this monster that Robespierre introduced the cruel law of *Prairial* which made the denunciation of suspects obligatory for all citizens and denied the accused all rights of defense. The nightmare terror followed.

Through it all, De Batz, under many disguises and aliases, watched his friends and enemies go to the scaffold. He saw the passing of the Convention and Directoire, the rise and fall of Napoleon and finally in 1814, the restoration of Louis XVIII to the throne of France. Now the worst indictments of the revolutionaries became his most shining citations. This remarkable career was ended by a stroke in 1822 when the Baron was aged sixty-eight.

Mr. Minnigerode has made good use of such excellent material in fashioning a biography that is as thrilling as it is instructive. The value of the book is enhanced by a note on his sources, an index and a brief sketch of the more important characters alphabetically arranged.

George A. Yanitelli.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All's Unwell

Travels in Two Democracies, by Edmund Wilson. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. $2.50.

MR. WILSON, former associate editor of the *New Republic* and author of "Axel's Castle" and "The American Jitters"—both books widely appreciated by the *New Republic* type of literati—has here done it again. Essentially he is a vignetteur, a writer of word *croquis,* or sketches. He does not deal in abstractions, but by a form of incantation which uses specific objects in a catalog manner, he seeks to evoke the thing-in-itself and, by and large, to make his morals implicit. The morals of the present book are that all is not well in the United States; and that all is not well in Russia. With high seriousness, earnestness, sincerity, he incants his specific instances: Negroes reduced to eating what they can find in the garbage dumps in the United States, and everyone afraid of the GPU agent in Russia and suspecting everyone else of being a political spy, which leads to much more evasive and puzzling talk than we have been accustomed to believe is natural with Russians.

A glossy portrait sent to reviewers, of Mr. Wilson, reveals him as haunted in expression. The book is haunted with a social consciousness of the brutalities, the stupid, venal, unnecessary brutalities of man to man in the world. It is pained and painful. For his sympathy with the under-dog who certainly gets kicked around unmercifully, Mr. Wilson deserves all credit, as do all his socialistic and Communist friends whose social religion is based on this fundamental charity. His education, however, is not complete. What he says is all right as far as it goes. Things are not what they might be, neither here nor in Russia, and they never were. Politics, I believe—and I do not want by this apposition to claim a better education than Mr. Wilson's, as that would be silly and immodest—politics cannot cure the human equation between the gentle and the brutal. As a novelist once wrote, "What can consideration avail against no consideration, courtesy against ignorant or malicious brashness?" That is the problem Mr. Wilson must seek solutions for, in the United States and in Russia, and everywhere. Our own instructions have led us to believe that the answer is found in the right direction of men to ultimate ends, the ultimate good, God, and in the straightening of their impulses which comes from this, without thought of selfish gain, because the sad fact is that consideration still cannot avail in this world against no consideration.

FREDERIC THOMPSON.

On the Air

The Fourth Estate and Radio, by George Henry Payne. Boston: The Microphone Press. $1.00.

THAT a member of the Federal Communications Commission has written a book on the problems of communication, particularly as they affect radio, is in itself a matter of public interest. Much discussion has raged around that body, and Mr. Payne's fair-minded,

CRUISE THE ORIENT
to the
XXXIII International Eucharistic Congress, Manila, P. I., Feb. 3-7, 1937

Hawaii, Japan, China and the Philippines. Sailing Jan. 9 on Canadian Pacific S. S. EMPRESS OF JAPAN, largest and fastest liner on the Pacific. Extensive shore excursions and mission visits.

Inclusive rates $605 up

AROUND THE WORLD to the EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

Visit 14 countries and islands, with stopover in Manila for the Eucharistic Congress and a week in Rome. Either eastward from New York Dec. 29th or westward from Vancouver Jan. 9th. 65 days or longer of thrilling travel.

Inclusive rates $985 up

James Boring Company has been officially appointed by the Executive Committee of the XXXIII International Eucharistic Congress, Manila, as travel agents in the United States and Canada.

For details and reservations see your local agent or

JAMES BORING COMPANY, INC.
655 Fifth Avenue New York
333 N. Michigan Ave. Chicago

Banking by Mail is safe, convenient and continually growing in popularity with our depositors in all parts of the world.

Should you desire to use our Banking by Mail facilities, full details will be given at either Office or mailed you on request.

EMIGRANT
INDUSTRIAL SAVINGS BANK

Resources Over $485,000,000.00

UPTOWN OFFICE
5-7 East 42nd Street

DOWNTOWN OFFICE
51 Chambers Street, at City Hall

THIS BANK IS A MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL DEPOSIT INSURANCE CORPORATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

College of Notre Dame of Maryland
Charles Street Avenue, Baltimore, Md.
A Catholic Institution for the Higher Education of Women
Affiliated with the Catholic University of America
Registered by University of the State of New York and by the Maryland State Board of Education. Accredited by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. Members of the America Council of Education. Courses leading to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts. Address Registrar.
NOTRE DAME PREPARATORY SCHOOL
Resident and Day Pupils *Address Secretary*

ROSEMONT COLLEGE
Rosemont, Pa.
Conducted by the Religious of the Society of the Hold Child Jesus. A College for Catholic Women. Incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania with power to confer Degrees in Arts, Sciences and Letters. Junior Year abroad. For resident and non-resident students. Situated eleven miles from Philadelphia on the Main Line of the P. R. R. *Address Registrar*

ACADEMY OF ST. JOSEPH
IN-THE-PINES
BRENTWOOD, LONG ISLAND
Boarding School for Young Ladies
Preparatory Collegiate. Affiliated with the State University.
Complete Courses in Art, Vocal and Instrumental Music
EXTENSIVE GROUNDS, LARGE CAMPUS, ATHLETICS
HORSEBACK RIDING
ADDRESS: MOTHER SUPERIOR

BETHANY REST HOUSE
(Conducted for Women by the Maryknoll Sisters)
DELIGHTFULLY SITUATED AMONG THE WESTCHESTER HILLS
Spacious Grounds—Modern Structure—Excellent Table and Service
Comfort and Refinement—Chapel—Daily Mass
REASONABLE RATES
Sr. Directors, BETHANY HOUSE, Ossining, Maryknoll, P. O., N. Y.
Tel. No. Ossining 1452

TRINITY COLLEGE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
An Institution for the Higher Education of Women
Conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. Accredited by the Association of American Universities. Graduates eligible for membership in American Association of University Women.
For particulars, address
THE REGISTRAR OF THE COLLEGE

GOOD COUNSEL COLLEGE
White Plains
WESTCHESTER COUNTY NEW YORK
Conducted by the Sisters of the Divine Compassion
Fully Accredited
Standard Courses in Arts and Sciences, pre-medical
Journalism, teacher training, secretarial studies, library science, fine arts.
Unusually beautiful location. Extensive campus.
Forty Minutes from New York

Ravenhill
GERMANTOWN, PENNA.
Boarding and Day School for Girls
Conducted by the Religious of the Assumption
College Preparatory—General Courses
Apply to The Reverend Mother
Academy of the Assumption
SCHOOL HOUSE LANE, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.

St Hilda Guild, Inc.

Church Vestments, Altar Linen
Ecclesiastical Embroidery
Conferences with reference to the adornment of churches
Old Embroidery Transferred
147 EAST 47th ST. NEW YORK
ELdorado 5-1058

broad and urbane explanation of the problems which confront it should evoke great interest. The purpose of these eight addresses, delivered before various universities, is a sincere, disinterested discussion of the problems of radio, telephone and telegraph; a scholarly if necessarily brief history of their birth and development; and an authoritative exposition of their present and future standing as they affect the interests of the American people.

The volume derives its title from the first address, a brilliantly written comparison of the Fourth Estate, the press, with radio, that new and even more powerful means of communication which in the minds of many already carries the connotation of a Fifth Estate. Mr. Payne, the author of a distinguished "History of Journalism in the United States," speaks clearly and with authority. In regard to the fare served the public by the commercial supporters of radio stations, Mr. Payne maintains that there should be more careful supervision and an imposition of higher standards. Yet he bestows credit where credit is justly due—to those advertisers who have sponsored fine art and given the nation cultural influences which otherwise would have been denied to many. He is definitely not in favor of a government-controlled radio such as exists in Great Britain.

The author's wide and delightful scholarship enables him to speak as fluently, as surely, on the scientific aspects of electrical communication as he does upon the historical progression of democracy. His style is, as always, vivid, arresting and forked with wit.

HELEN WALKER HOMAN.

For Reference

The New International Year Book for 1935; *edited by Frank H. Vizetelly. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company.* $6.25.

THE PRESENT volume is not only a worthy continuation of a series of immeasurable value to those who would have information based on fact, but has new excellencies to commend it. Timeliness, both in text and illustration, is naturally the keynote but there is throughout the admirably fulfilled intention of making the volume as complete in its categories and as comprehensive in its treatment of them as was possible. Here then is the record of the year in all phases of activities. For those who wish to refresh memories on its events, the book will provide interesting as well as useful reading; for reference libraries, students, editors and the information-seekers, it should prove indispensable.

CONTRIBUTORS

DONALD ATTWATER is a contributor to the journals of England and the United States, and the editor of *Pax*, monthly review of the Benedictines of Prinknash, Gloucester, England.

REV. R. A. MCGOWAN is assistant director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

RT. REV. MSGR. PHILIP MAHONEY is chancellor of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

GEORGE A. YANITELLI is a musician and critic resident in New York.

HELEN WALKER HOMAN, formerly of the editorial staff of THE COMMONWEAL, is the author of "By Post to the Apostles" and "Letters to Saint Francis and His Friars."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED